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881 and she said that she just wanted some fire. But he saw into
538 the real reason, which was that the woman liked the boy. He killed her, and then her clan relatives held fast a pig and made a big mortuary feast.[1]

There is another tale of boys being decoyed from their enclosure. Two boys left the enclosure where they were secluded to get some water. On the beach they saw a *kuwiwi* bird, which they tried to catch. The bird eluded them, running along the beach from hamlet to hamlet. The boys followed, always trying to catch the bird but not succeeding. Finally they came to a place where two women, who sent the bird as a decoy, awaited them. The women embraced them and had intercourse with them.[2]

The boys fought and broke away from the women finally and ran back to the enclosure. There they set fire to the *kolamuth*, stepped into the flames, and burned themselves to death. They sang as the flames crept higher and higher. The people in the bush garden heard the singing and came back to the village. They wanted to pull the boys out of the fire, but it was too late. They had been burned to death. The pigs were killed and a big feast made.

These tales reinforce what the rites indicate, namely, the jealous attitude of the women on the seclusion of the boys and the fact that there is a real cleavage between the mothers and the boys at this time. They also indicate a sexual desire of some of the women for the young boys.

MALANGGAN RITES

881 After these initial rites concerned with the boys entering
778 the enclosure for circumcision, the *malanggans* begin to come

[1] This motif of crying out as the flames creep higher and higher, and the return of the people from the bush just too late, is a very common one through many tales.

[2] The folk-tale is not exactly clear as to whether the women just attempted to have coitus, or whether they succeeded.

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to the foreground. Several *malanggans* are being made; they have the names of Walik, Kolebmur, Muhdae, Lysisi.[1]

Three days after the boys are secluded the men build a small house of leaves within the enclosure, which will later hold the *malanggans*. They work all the morning building the little house, and in the afternoon eat inside the enclosure. Takou has contributed the pig for the feast. Lungow, an important old man of Takou's clan, and a classificatory brother makes a short speech over the pig before it is cut up, to the effect that this pig is to celebrate the completion of the house which will hold the *malanggans* and to pay the men who have built it. Then the pig and taro are distributed, after which Takou makes a speech. He is not a good orator, and he speaks haltingly. "I want to make the rites for the *malanggan*. By and by the women will dance and the men will dance for the *malanggan*. I want to make a big feast for them." Everyone now eats, and some of the pig and taro are taken to the inner enclosure, where the boys are secluded. Part of the taro, but none of the pig, is taken to the women outside.

From now on, every afternoon just before sunset, the men rehearse their dances. The women, who are no longer rehearsing, do not go anywhere near the place where the men practise during the three weeks which elapse before it is time for the boys to come out from the enclosure. In talking about it the natives remark that now is the time when the women will look at the boys. The day before there are the usual communal cooking preparations at Ponatlege. All the women of the village are there, scraping the taro, and the men are busy preparing the pigs, building the *liga*, etc.

[1] Each *malanggan* has a name. Mekeo, father of one of the boys being circumcised, makes the Walik one. Mekeo's son, Liputai, is also making one paid for by *tsera* given him by his father. Lusera, father of two of the boys, is making another. A maternal uncle of one of the boys makes another.

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881 778 Early in the morning, on the day of the rites, the *kolamuth* is sounded at Ponatlege. The men go into the enclosure and look at the unpainted *malanggans* which have been placed in the little grass house. In about fifteen minutes they emerge into the open compound. This is just the preliminary appearance of the *malanggan*, because the boys are coming out of the enclosure to-day.[1]

In the open compound the men and women sit in their separate groups, chatting. There is a general air of expectancy. Soon singing is heard in the distance. It comes closer. The women get up and go inside the open cook-house, and most of the men go inside the enclosure, although a few remain outside in the compound. The eight boys, accompanied by twenty men (from Tagam), advance into the compound in block formation of five lines, singing. This is called the *Bumän* dance. The hair of the boys is painted red, and each one carries a bundle of baked taro and a piece of pig's entrails wrapped in leaves. They halt and stop singing. Takou, the father of two of the boys and the maker of one of the *malaggans* to be displayed, then steps out and speaks. "All of you have come because of these boys. Now this *Bumän* rite is done in Ponatlege. My mother knew this *Bumän* in Penguli where she lived. To-day the *Bumän* is done in Ponatlege. Suppose my mother had not known the *Bumän*, then I, Takou, could not know it. I talk to all you men and to all you women. I have talked enough. Suppose you have a big man; he will talk much more to you. But I am a little boy.[2] All of you, all the men, all the women, all the Luluai (chiefs), all of us have come here for this little *malanggan*. That's all. Suppose it is big *malanggan* rite, then there would be a big speech. But Ponatlege is a new place,

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[1] When they come out they will go to the Mission school. In the past they would have stayed within the enclosure until the finished *malanggans* were displayed. Now when they come out the unpainted *malanggans* are shown.

[2] The speaker is a large, adult man, but the custom is to belittle oneself.

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and Mekeo and I are making these rites for the first time. All of you from Langania, all of you from Lesu, all of you from Ambwa, and two men from Laummasong have come. All of us have come at one time. There are many men here. When the *malanggan* is finished all of you will go back. We do not have many men at Ponatlege, three men and three women, that is all. I want to finish my speech. I do not like to make long speeches. I have finished." Now eight women who stand in the relation of father's sister to the boys (*Tomangaina*) walk up to them. The boys give them the taro and the pig's entrails, and each woman gives her *Tomangaina* a little tobacco and a half *tsera*. The mothers of the boys gave them the taro and pig's entrails which they have just handed to their *Tomangaina*. The latter now step back into the crowd.[1] The boys and men then dance, in silence. They turn, kneel slightly, turn about again, and this turn and kneeling motion is repeated six or seven times. Each man carries a stalk of the long grass, *Lil*, in his hand, and on their last turn he hurls his *Lil* in front of him as if it were a spear. This *Lil*[2] is supposed to be dangerous, and that is the reason most of the men and women ran for shelter when the dance was begun, and why those who did remain outside were careful to be out of reach of the shafts of this grass. It is believed that if it touches the skin sores will appear.

Sola, an important old man of the Sinimanbul clan, and the one owning the *Walik malanggan* now on display, stands up and talks. "Before, when I was a little boy, I lived in Tabar. I saw this *malanggan* there. Later I came to Lesu, but before I left Tabar I paid *tsera* to

[1] It is of interest to note that this is the first time in the rites that relatives on the paternal side have taken an active part, and that these women are of the same moiety as the future mates of the boys.

[2] The *Lil* is a species of *Graminae imperata*.

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my clan relatives to learn about this *malanggan*. Now I live in the hamlet of Simbelmalum. Now I have made[1] the *malanggan* and have brought it to Ponatlege. It is not good that later you will say, Sola he lied. No, it is true, I learned about this *malanggan* from my clan relatives. Mekeo wants this *malanggan*, and so I have given it to him. All of you men from Lesu, Ambwa, and Langania have another kind of *malanggan*. Mine is different from yours. That "bed" on which the two pigs are resting is the custom in Tabar. It is different from the kind of "bed" you make here. I cannot make a long speech. I am an old man. I have finished talking."

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Now the men and the boys go inside the enclosure, where they sit on the ground around the walls facing the unpainted *malanggans*. The two roasted pigs are in front of it. Two men[2] stand up behind the *malanggan*, so that they are only visible from the waist up. One has a bird's beak in his mouth and a brightly coloured bird's tail in his hair. The other has a crown of feathers and also a beak in his mouth. Both men are wearing their *kepkep* (breast ornament). Their hands are clasped in back. They sway from right to left rhythmically. The men and boys who were doing the *Bumän* dance outside now continue with the same dance, and are led by the two swaying men. The boys drop out of the dance and sit down by the walls on each side of the enclosure. The men continue dancing and begin to sing also. The dance stops and they all sit down. Then Lungow (a member of the same moiety, but not of the same clan), who has been beating the *kolamuth*, speaks: "You see this *Kanda* (the stick with which he beats

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[1] That is, he taught the carver how to make it.

[2] One of these two men is Mekeo, father of one of the boys. The other is a member of his clan. They perform their role in the dance because they know it, rather than because of their kinship to the boys.

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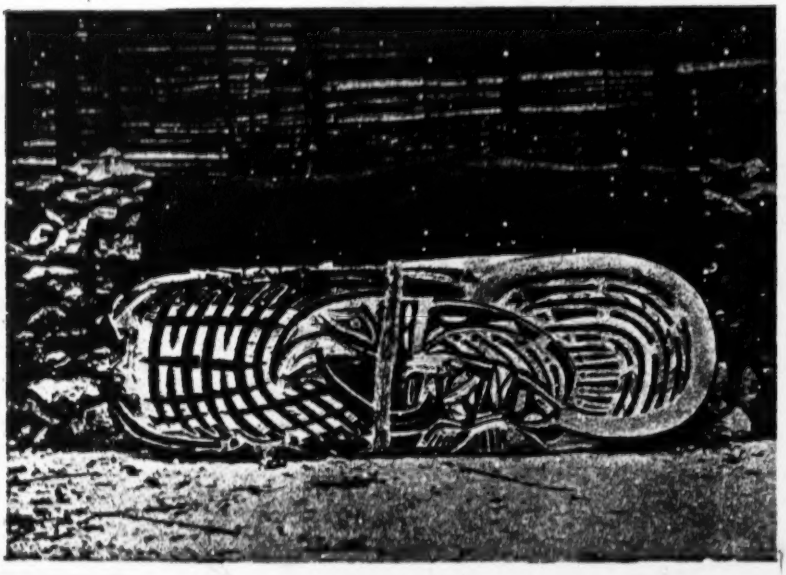
DANCING MASK



MALANGGAN

[facing p. 120]

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881 the *kolamuth*). When I was a little boy my grandfather gave
778 it to me, and now I use it well. It is not good that you say, 'Who gave it to him?' Now you know; it was my grandfather who gave it to me." He sits down.

[302] Now four men come in, faces smeared with white lime, hair decorated with leaves, and carrying leaves and a shell rattle in their hands.[1] Silently they dance up to the *malanggan*. One hurls a stick, as if it were a spear, at the round enclosure in the centre of the *Kolebmur malanggan*, which represents a door and is called by that name, *mut*. When the stick hits it a plank behind falls down, leaving an opening. The stick is laid in the centre of the enclosure before the *malanggan*. The four men now sit down in front of the *malanggan* and sing. When they stop Lungow picks up a betel-nut from the ground in front of the *malanggan* and says, "This betel-nut belongs to the *Walik malanggan*." Picking up the betel-nut is a signal that the dancing is over and that the feasting will begin. If anyone should rise before this signal it is thought that some disaster would befall him; he might fall from a tree.

[262] Two young men bring in a baked pig and place it on the ground beside the *malanggan*. Two large bundles of baked taro and another pig are already there, and two other pigs are on top of the *malanggan*. All the pigs have been contributed by Sola, Mekeo, Lungow, and Lumaeris, the owners of the *malanggans*. Sola stands up, holding in his hands
[293] the bird's beak (*Notinamaen*), the black wooden rattle containing pigs' teeth (*Tumba*), the headdress of feathers (*Bilut*), all used by the two men who had been swaying back of the
881 *malanggan*. He says: "You see the *kanda* (stick thrown at the
778 *malanggan*), the *notinamaen*, the *bilut*, the *tumba*: Now if I,
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[1] These men are of different clans and moieties, but the one who hurls the stick is of the same clan as the man who is displaying the *malanggan*. The former says that his clan relatives taught him how to "shoot the door."

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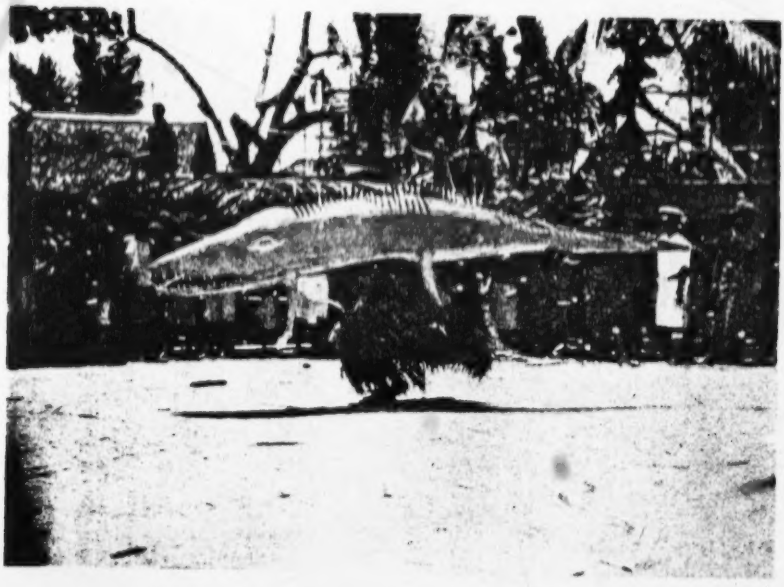

CROCODILE FIGURE IN DANCE

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PIG DANCE
[Facing p. 12]

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Sola, should die, then a younger man will talk as I do. Suppose someone should ask who taught him. He will answer that Sola has taught him. I have finished speaking." Each of the eight boys being circumcised walks over in turn to where Sola sits and puts some tobacco and *tsera* at his feet.

Then Lowni, owner of the *Kolebmur malanggan* being displayed, and who has sold it to Orlok, stands up and repeats in regard to his *malanggan* what Sola has just said. The eight boys now put tobacco and *tsera* at Lowni's feet.

Towni, owner of another *Walik malanggan*, being displayed, talks: "Before, when I was a little boy, I worked on a plantation and I did not know this *malanggan*. Then I learned about it from my *Tata* (maternal uncle). Now I have made it and give it to Pungoli, my *tsiringi* (maternal nephew)." The latter is one of the eight boys, and now gives *tsera* and tobacco to Towni.

Then the men contributing the pigs make the payments for them publicly, holding the *tsera* up in full view and announcing to whom and for what are they paying it, and then Sola makes a speech over the two pigs resting on top of the *malanggans*. He says: "All of you look at these two pigs. They have been sleeping on this bed on top of the *malanggans*, and therefore they are taboo. We will eat them here in the enclosure and finish eating them here. These other two pigs on the ground, we will eat half here and the remaining half will be taken out to the women. But these two pigs which have been on top of the *malanggan*, they must not be taken out to the women. I have finished talking." The *malanggans* are taboo to the women, who may not look at them. The pigs, evidently from their proximity to the *malanggans*, have also become taboo to the women.

Towni stands on top of the two taboo pigs and cuts them up. Two men act as waiters and distribute plates of leaves to all those present. The same ten men now advance as a unit, pick up taro, stand in front of the plates with it, and

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when Sola gives a hiss as a signal, place it on the plates. The men return to the big pile of taro, pick up some more, advance in a body to the plates, and wait for the signal which is given this time by Towni. He says, "*Arurini la pulla*" ("put them down"). And this is repeated each time a portion of the food is put on the plates. When the food has been distributed, each plate contains about ten baked taro, fifteen bananas, and a couple of large pieces of pig, about 5 lb. perhaps. This portion is for three men, all of whom sit around one plate. As soon as all the food is distributed, Sola and Takou walk the length of the enclosure and back again, each one holding a small bone (rib of the pig). They are silent, and so too is everyone else. With a rather dramatic gesture they throw the bones away. This is the signal for everyone to begin eating. After they have eaten for a little while, Sola advances, bird's beak in his mouth and rattle in his hand, and dances up and down the centre of the enclosure. All the men cry in chorus, "Walik Ah!" The only explanation is that it is one of the customs peculiar to the *Walik malanggan.*

The pig lying on the ground is now cut up, and Sola talks over it: "This pig has been cut, now distribute it; half will go to the women outside." The pig is then distributed on the plates. Finally the men finish eating, and then they wash their hands in the sea, put the remains of the food in the basket, which they take out to the women. Some of the taboo pig was not eaten, but it remains inside the enclosure.

The initial rites held for the boys coming out of the enclosure, and for the first showing of the *malanggan*, are finished for the present, and will be continued about six weeks later, when the completed painted *malanggans* are displayed. During this interval all the men of Lesu rehearse their dances every evening just before sunset. Those men who are not in the dance watch the others, but no woman

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sees them. The women of Tagam, but not those of Lesu, also practise their dances daily.

The week before the big rites is one of intensive preparation. There are the final dance rehearsals. Bananas are carried on poles to Ponatlege to be buried in the sand there. The *malanggans* are receiving their final coats of paint, and the dancing masks, *anis*, are being finished. This work is being done in the men's house, where it is taboo for women to come. The impending rites are the main subject of conversation, and there is a general air of expectancy.

Two days before the rites the women go to the gardens and bring in the taro which they carry to Ponatlege, where they begin the communal cooking. The *malanggans* are finished and covered with leaves. They are carried from the hamlet of Ponbumbu,[1] where they were made, to the enclosure at Ponatlege. When they have been placed within the little grass house the men eat within the enclosure. Taro, fish, and bananas is their feast.

On the late afternoon of the same day a dress rehearsal of the masked dance, *tselanith anis*, is held. The rehearsals up to now have been held in the compound of the men's house at Ponbumbu. But to-day the women are invited to witness a rehearsal held in the open compound. The men are very proud of their masks, and say quite frankly that they want the women to see them. It is obviously a vaunting display in front of the women. They arrive and, sitting on the ground in the open compound, wait for about an hour before the rehearsal begins. Snatches of singing and occasional blowing of the conch shell are heard from the men's house. The men beat the *kolamuth*, and finally the dancers emerge. After it is over the women go home. That night the men again practise within the enclosure of the men's house, more because they are excited about it than because there is any need for repetition.

[1] The carver lives in this hamlet.

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The next day the cooking preparations proceed in earnest. Over a hundred women gather at Ponatlege and the adjoining hamlet to prepare the taro. The men are busy wrapping the fish in leaves and tending to the *liga*. The only idlers are a few old men, some of whom sit and play with the babies, while others are chatting in the men's house. The food is left on the *liga* overnight, and the next day sees the climax of the *malanggan* rites.

By the middle of the morning all the people of Lesu, Ambwa, and Langania, and many from the more distant villages of Libba and Tandis, and even a few from Fakmalak and Laummasong, both of different language groups, arrive at Ponatlege. Five or six hundred people are present. The men and women sit around in a large open space in the centre of the hamlet left free for dancing. The men sit on the side nearest the enclosure and the men's house, while the women are on the other side; even quite young children observe this distinction. On the side where the women sit a small temporary booth is erected to hold baked taro and bananas. This is for the women who, if they are hungry between dances, go in and eat. The men do not eat any of this food, but wait until the rites are over for the day. Everyone is anxious for the dancing to begin.

In come the first group of dancers, who are from Lesu. Each man wears an elaborate mask, a grass or rather leaf petticoat, and a red shirt. In the past, instead of the red shirt, which he now buys especially for this occasion from the trade store on a near-by plantation, he painted his body red from the waist up so that his identity might remain concealed. As each dancer enters, an old man blows from his hand some powdered lime, *lest*, in front of the performer, to make him dance well. The dancers enter in couples, except the first man who acts as a leader, escorting in each pair of dancers. When all have appeared, they dance together in circle and line formation. The dance is a very strenuous

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881 one, and the hot masks and tight shirts add to the dis-
778 comfort of the participants. Only the youngest and strongest
535 men take part, and they are exhausted when it is over.

After a short interval, fourteen men from Langania enter and do a very similar dance. The masks, costumes, and music are identical, but there is a slight variation in the steps and form.

Following them, thirty men from Libba without masks dance. Their dance is one of elaborate figures and intricate abstract formation, with no apparent meaning. No native interpretation of the figures and no conscious symbolism was attached to this dance.

In the interval following these three dances some of the Ponatlege women distribute a few taro and bananas to the other women, who eat them.

[532] In the next dance the men from the village of Tandis have masks very cleverly representing owl heads (*dudul*). The entire body of each dancer is covered with leaves. The dance is in two-line formation, and one line is supposed to represent men and the other their ghosts. It was taught to the Tandis men by a man from the Kockopo district of New Hanover, now working on a plantation at Tandis.

In the next dance sixteen men wearing masks and costumes similar to the ones in the first dance form two lines, one of which sits on the ground and represents a snake who wants to eat the men in the other line, who stand and wave sticks representing spears. In the dance the men fight the "snake" with their spear and kill "it." All these movements form part of the dance, and though not too obvious are performed with sufficient realism to convey the idea.

There is one more dance, an intricate, abstract figure, by the men of Laummasong.

By now it is late afternoon, and the dancing is over for the day; the rites will be continued the next day. The men enter the men's house to eat.

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Early the next morning everyone again assembles at Ponatlege. First comes the distribution of food. The women of Tagam (Ponatlege and neighbouring hamlets) give to the other women baked taro and pigs' entrails.

Then follows an interval when everyone waits for the dancing to be resumed. In come the women from Tagam and a few from Langania (one of the boys who has been circumcised is from Langania). Most of the women have their hair painted red, but a few have it a vivid blue. All have a smudge of the white powdered lime on their cheeks, and each one holds a leaf. They perform the *Bilalo* dance, which is one of the abstract formations. During the dance one man with powdered lime in his hand strikes one of the dancers on the back. A woman also with the powdered lime hits a dancer on the back. Later the dancer will give the person who hits him some tobacco. This action takes place frequently during all the dances, and occurs between two people who stand in the *tamangaina* and *ripunga* relationship.[1] The action just described always occurs whenever there is ritual dancing, and usually provokes laughter from the audience. I was unable to get any explanation of it from the natives, except that it always occurs between the kindred mentioned.

This dance is the first performed by women in these concluding rites. The dancers come from the same hamlets as the boys who were initiated. When the boys went to be circumcised, the women from all the surrounding villages danced and the men formed the audience. When the boys come out from the enclosure, it is the men from all the near-by villages who dance and the

[1] The first is the relation between a man or a woman and their father's sister, and the second is the relationship between a man and his father's sister's son or his mother's brother's son, and between a woman and her mother's brother's daughter or her father's sister's daughter's daughter. When the relationship is between two females, the term is *Rapungaina* (*ina* being a suffix denoting female).

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881 women who are the observers, with the one exception just described.

118 Following the women, the men of Fakmalak do a very dramatic dance for which an orchestra of both men and women is provided. The men beat the *kolamuth* and the women sing. (In the other dances, when there was an "orchestra," it was composed only of men.) In the centre of the clearing has been stuck a small young tree which represents the sago tree growing on the bank of a river. One man with a mask enters and dramatically cuts down the tree with a very small model of an axe. At first he finds it difficult, but finally he succeeds and the tree is felled. Then immediately an enormous crocodile (a man inside of a very clever representation) enters on the scene. The reptile tries to kill the man. After much skirmishing the man runs "upstage" and goes through the motions of calling for help. Immediately a line of men come in, armed with small sticks representing spears. They try to kill the "crocodile," but do not succeed. There enters another line of men, similarly armed, and combining their forces they succeed in "killing" the "crocodile." It is lifted up and placed in the centre of the circle as they dance around it. This final action is symbolic of putting it in the *liga* to be baked. Then the men sit down and vividly go through the gestures of eating, since they are now supposed to be eating the crocodile. When they finish this, they rise for the vigorous finale, symbolizing victory. The dance is performed with a real dramatic verve, and holds the intense interest of the audience.

535 Another dramatic dance, also by the men from Fakmalak, follows. The men wear the leaf shirt and painted masks of the *tselanith anis* dance performed earlier, and the dance is one of two-line formation, one line representing women and the other men. The "men" pursue the "women," who act coyly and at first refuse to yield. But finally the men succeed, and the two lines sit down opposite each other and

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each couple embraces. The audience greets the climax with laughter and hilarious shouts.

After this dance comes the distribution of food. Sixteen pigs are on top of the bamboo structure erected for this purpose, and bundles of uncooked taro hang beneath them. Sola, the most important old man in Tagam, and owner of one of the *malanggans* being displayed, stands on top of the pigs and speaks. He refers again to the fact that Ponatlege is a new place, and that this is the first time a *malanggan* has been made here. He also recalls how in the recent past this site was bush, where children played, and men had intercourse with their mistresses, and then how Mekeo came and cut down the trees and built the first house there. (Mekeo formerly came from the hamlet of Ponembua, where Sola lives.) Sola now calls out the names of all important old men of the clan, now dead, his father, Mekeo's father, etc. He says that the *malanggan* belongs to him and Mekeo, but that all the other men of Tagam have helped with their contributions and labour. He adds that the pigs on which he stands are for the feast and that his speech is finished.

Sixteen men have given the sixteen pigs, and the fathers of the boys who were circumcised are among the contributors. The remainder are all men from Tagam, and, speaking generally, they are all the adult men of any importance in Tagam, regardless of their relationship to the eight boys. But as a matter of fact, most of them are related in some way or other, since Tagam is small and several families have intermarried. The pigs, which have been singed and the entrails removed, are now cut up and distributed. Much excitement prevails, loud calling out of the names of the men to whom the pigs are being distributed and bustling activity. Uncooked taro tied together in bunches and bundles of baked taro, bananas, and small pieces of pig are given to the women. When the distribution is

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881 778 over, everyone goes home; the women with their heavily loaded baskets, and the men carrying the large portions of pig.

881 778 535 That night the dancing is continued at Ponatlege. The women of Tagam do the *Buruth* dance inside the enclosure of the men's house, where, under ordinary circumstances, they never go. This custom, which is an exception to the general rule, belongs exclusively to the *Wâlik malanggan*, now being displayed.

The women have the usual smearing of white lime on their faces, but the birds' feathers stuck in their hair are peculiar to this dance. A woman gets the feathers from her husband, to whom she pays a half *tsera*. A widow or unmarried girl obtains the feathers from her brother or father. The dance is one of rather intricate abstract formation, with no apparent meaning. Those women who take no part in the dance sit within the enclosure of the men's house watching it. The men watch it from the outside, leaning against the fence and peering in. The dance continues rather monotonously for several hours, and then the women leave the enclosure in single file, walk around the outside, and return at another entrance. They now sit down and sing the same 881 778 refrain which accompanies the dance for several more hours, far into the night, which concludes with promiscuous 786 intercourse. The only rule observed is the one of exogamy between the members of the same moiety. The custom is for a man to enter the house of any woman he desires. The men as usual pay *tsera* for the privilege.[1] For about a week 881 778 after this the women of Tagam sleep together in one house, Mekeo's, while he and the other men sleep else-

[1] It is difficult to gather the exact extent of the promiscuity, because it is now frowned upon by the white Government and forbidden by the missions. I was told that the promiscuity following the dance just described was not carried on to quite the same degree as it was in the past. However, added my informants, very few of the men returned to their homes that night.

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where, and the promiscuity is thus followed by a week of continence.

The morning following the *Burutk* dance an Ambwa man carries back to his own village a half of pig which was given him. He is followed by the man who gave him the half pig, and by several of the boys who have been circumcised. These boys, decorated with leaves and carrying the wooden rattle, *tarruk*, used in one of the dances and an empty basket, run all the way to Ambwa, a distance of about three miles. When they arrive in the village they stand in front of the houses and shake the rattles. The women see them and call to the men who are on the beach. The latter come and give the boys tobacco, *tsera*, and loin-cloths, which they put in the baskets and carry home with them. The same incident happened when another group of the eight circumcised boys followed a half pig to the village of Langania. These payments according to native explanation are not believed to be made for any specific thing, but are merely part of the rites pertaining to the *Walik* and *Kolebmur malanggans*.

A little over a week after this the women of Tagam go through a similar rite. Singing the song of the *Burutk* dance, they walk to Ambwa. Their hair is painted red and decorated with leaves, and their faces are painted red and white. There are two kinds of facial decoration. For the young girls, to whom this is the first participation in the *Walik malanggan* rites, the decoration is a round red circle on each cheek. The older women who have participated in many *Walik malanggan* rites have similar circles on their cheeks, and in addition a line connecting them over the forehead.

When they arrive at Ambwa they all sit down and rest for a while, and then the Ambwa women give them bundles of baked taro, baked fish, and coconuts. Carrying the food they return, still singing, and on the way back stop at each hamlet of Lesu where they are given more food. The women

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of Lesu and Ambwa prepared the food earlier in the day, and have it all ready strung on poles waiting for the visitors. This food is not considered as a return gift for that which the Tagam women gave them at the beginning of the rites, but merely as a custom concerning the *Walik malanggan*. Finally the Tagam women return to Ponatlege, and there they arrange the food in two piles. The women sit in two lines with the piles of food between them. (The lines are not according to moiety.) Then the women from Fakmalak and Langania, a few of whom have been present at all the rites, put *tsera* and tobacco on top of the food piles. The currency and tobacco goes to the owners of the *malanggans*, and is considered as payment to them for allowing these women from another village to participate in the rites. All the women now eat some of the food they have collected. This feast marks the end of the period of the women sleeping in one house. After this the women go back to their own homes. The *malanggans* remain in the enclosure. No woman has seen them.

About three months later a small feast is held by the Tagam men when the red paint is removed from the hair of the eight boys. This is done by merely covering the hair with white powdered lime.

The concluding rites take place two months after this feast. The night before the former, Sola and Mekeo, the owners of the *Walik malanggan*, secretly make two round objects called *Pundän*, which translated literally means half water.[1] The rounded coconut shell is covered completely with black paint interspersed with white polka dots. On the top is placed a round flat carved piece of wood just like the centre of the *Walik malanggan*. This circular carving is called *balji*, as it is also in the *malanggan*, and means the hearth fire.

[1] It gets this name probably because the base is made of a half coconut shell from which the natives usually drink water; or it may refer to half of the coconut liquid which the natives drink as water.

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A few boys and men (six of them) are allowed to come in during the night and watch them, for which privilege they pay *tsera* and tobacco to Sola and Mekeo. The observers must eat some of the fat from the pigs which have been killed for the feast to be held in the morning. This is a ritual duty, and the fat is not eaten because they like it. Sometimes a man who cannot stomach the fat will merely lick it with his tongue. No native explanation for this custom exists, but it is believed that some misfortune would befall the man who had neglected to eat the fat: he might cut himself while felling a tree, or fall from a tree and die. No one else sees these *Pundän*, and after the rites they are destroyed, even before the *malanggans*.

The next morning about a hundred men gather in the enclosure at Ponatlege. The two *Pundän* are out of sight in the separate little enclosure behind the *malanggan* house, in front of which the food is piled—two pigs, baked taro, bananas, and a species of chestnut (*koh*). Sola stands up and talks: "These two pigs belong to the concluding rites for the *malanggan*. We have made big rites for them. All the men and all the women ate pigs. Now to-day we, the men, but not the women, will eat pigs. Why have not all the men from Langania come? All the men from Lesu and Ambwa are here. The Langania men did not come because they are lazy." Sola now gives *tsera* to one man in payment for the pig. He has contributed the other one himself. The food is distributed according to traditional custom. After this Sola comes out adorned with a feather headdress, a bright red loin-cloth, a pig's liver hanging out of his mouth, the shark fishing rattle in one hand, and a smaller shell rattle in the other. *Kerapo* leaves are stuck in his armband. Thus arrayed, he dances up and down the centre of the enclosure and sings, or rather hums a wordless song. This performance is called *baeas*.

When the men have eaten there are speech by the old

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881 men about the present deluge of rain, and how the rain
778 magician will stop it. Gradually the men drift out of the
enclosure. Later, the *malanggans* having served their purpose will be quietly destroyed.

SUMMARY

The *malanggan* and initiation rites are over. Sometimes it has been difficult to separate the two and know exactly when the rites were for the *malanggans* and when for the initiation of the boys. We have described them both, interwoven as they are, in detail because of the importance of initiation rites in primitive societies all over the world, and because we have so little information about the *malanggans* that details concerning their rites may be of some use in any further study of them. Their exact significance is still not quite clear. We know that they are to honour the dead, that they are taboo to women, that they are surrounded with very elaborate dances and other ritual, that wealth is necessary to make the feasts accompanying them, and that much prestige comes to him who holds the *malanggan* rites. We know, too, that they have come from the far past. In the ritual speeches, and in the more informal discussions about the carvings, there is scarcely any mention of the dead, in whose honour they might be made. Mention is made of the former ownership of them, how the present owner learned the rites (thus in a way vouching for his right to make it), and of how his clan relatives helped him. Each step in the making of the *malanggans*, from the building of the small structure to house them to the destruction of the two secret objects, *pundän*, which conclude the rites, has been elaborately solemnized with dances and feasts. No initiation of the boys could be held without these accompanying *malanggan* rites. Whether in some far-distant past they were more intimately associated

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with the dead than they appear to be now is a matter for speculation.[1]

Because the initiation and *malanggan* rites have covered such a long period of time and have been so varied and described in such detail, it is desirable to summarize the events, to point out the most significant aspects, and to suggest an interpretation. The following is the chronological sequence of events:

1. Planting of gardens and making of taro magic ten months before the big feasts.
2. Making of *malanggans* and masks begun several months before the rites take place.
3. *May 8th.*—Building of enclosure in which boys will be circumcised and secluded.
4. *June 3rd.*—Dancing all night by the women, followed the next morning by the circumcision of the boys, who after that remain within the enclosure.
5. *June 7th.*—Small house built within the enclosure to hold the *malanggans* which will be placed there later.
6. *June 25th.*—Boys come out from the enclosure. Dancing by men and placing of unpainted *malanggans* in the enclosure.
7. *June 26th–July 30th.*—Men of whole village and women of Tagam having daily dance rehearsals.
8. *July 30th–August 6th.*—Week of intensive preparations for final rites.
9. *August 6th and 7th.*—Completed *malanggans* placed in the enclosure and displayed to the men. Feast and elaborate dancing end with sexual promiscuity.[2]
10. *August 9th–August 17th.*—Women of Tagam sleep in one house and men in their own homes. Continence observed.
11. *August 27th.*—Tagam women walk singing to the next village, collecting food in each hamlet on the way. After this they go back to normal sleeping arrangements.

[1] *Malanggans* in their context of mortuary rites and a further description of them is given, pp. 315–319 (Chapter VIII). The sale of a *malanggan* is described, pp. 210–224 (Chapter VI).

[2] If it were not that the boys had to come out of the enclosure early to go to the mission school, the rites held on June 25th and those on August 6th and 7th would have been held at one time on the last date.

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12. *November 18th.*—Feast by the men in enclosure on the occasion of the removal of red paint from the hair of the eight boys.

13. *January 25th.*—Final rites and feast for the *malanggans*, after which they are destroyed.[1]

INTERPRETATION

Several points in the initiation rites should be considered. First, there are the different roles played by the women *versus* the men, and by the clan relatives *versus* the parents, and the role of the whole community. Prior to the circumcision, the women of the village and the neighbouring villages rehearsed their dances every night and played the dominant ritual roles. We saw them fight the men who were taking their boys away from them, and we were told that all the women were dancing in sympathy with the mothers who were losing the boys. The symbolism of these women's rites is apparently very conscious. The men, except in their fight with the women, took no part in the rites preceding the circumcision. When the boys come out from their seclusion the roles are reversed. Now the men of all the neighbouring villages come and perform their dances on this occasion. These two days of excitement and dancing have their climax on the second night in a dance by the women (mothers and other relatives) of the hamlet from which the boys come, which ends in sexual promiscuity. It would seem that the dancing of the last two days would naturally lead to a heightening of the emotions, which in turn leads to the promiscuity.[2] This might also symbolize the reuniting of

[1] All of the above rites were witnessed, except the making of taro magic (made before my arrival), which was later observed in another connection.

[2] The admonitions during rehearsals to dance well because the members of the opposite sex will later be their audience and the vaunting display by the men before the women at a "dress" rehearsal should all be remembered in this connection.

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the two sexes after their separation in the preliminary rites. The unusualness of the women dancing within the enclosure of the men's house, which ordinarily they do not enter, adds to the unconventionality of the occasion. Perhaps it is by stepping outside the rules of the society that the occasion is made more significant. The period of continence following the promiscuity also contributes to the significance of the event.

The women have been a unit apart from the men, opposing the circumcision of the boys and expressing their sorrow in the dance. The men have taken the boys from their mothers, and at the end of the period of seclusion have welcomed them by the dance and by the *malanggan* rites into the masculine society. The *malanggans*, it must be remembered, are the most important ritual objects of the society and taboo to the women. It is therefore quite fitting that they be displayed on this occasion.

It has been noted that the parents and clan relatives play different roles, and how the relationship of the boys to their clan relatives is stressed at this time. It is the clan relatives who get the betel-nut and *tsera* from the members of the opposite moiety. It is particularly the maternal uncle who has featured in the rites. It is he who contributes much of the wealth necessary to hold the rites. His relationship is stressed again when his wife, and not the mother of the boy, has the opportunity of making a speech of either praise or blame about her husband.

And yet while the father does not have such an important ritual role, he is not unimportant, for it is the father and the maternal uncle who walk affectionately and encouragingly with the boy just before he enters the enclosure, and it is also the father who holds the boy during the painful operation. The relationship to the father is also emphasized when the boys come out of the enclosure and

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881 778 593 614 give tobacco and pig's fat to the father's sister.[1] The sentiments binding fathers to their boys are given full expression, even though the clan relatives may have a dominant ritual role. The mothers who are of the same clan as their sons have their role too. It is they (and not the wife of the maternal uncle) who weep and fight the men when the boys are taken into the enclosure. It is they also who have been especially zealous with contributions from their gardens and in preparing the food. While the initiation rites are of particular concern to the parents and clan relatives of the boys, the whole community is also interested and anticipates the event months in advance. The presence and participation of all the members of the community adds impressiveness to the occasion, and brings the rites to an effective and dramatic climax.

881 778 The combination of the *malanggan* rites with the initiation rites is of interest. While everyone knows that the former are for the dead, and while the figures on the carvings represent dead ancestors, the points stressed in speeches have nothing to do with the dead persons. Those making the *malanggans* tell how the right to make them has come down through their clan, how they have collected much wealth before they could be made, and how they are now making them because the boys are being initiated. The dead remain in their graves quite undisturbed. The making of *malanggans* at this time adds additional significance to the initiation rites.

882 304 The boy has been initiated and is now a full member of masculine society. He sleeps in the men's house, and while he continues to eat at home and still participates in the family life, a break has been made between him and his

[1] This might also be interpreted in another way, for these women are of the moiety of the boys' future mates, and the presentation of tobacco and pig's fat may symbolize their future relations with women of the opposite moiety.

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But the mortuary rites are not over even after the survivors are released from the various food and sex taboos. The making of the *malanggan*, perhaps years later, is still part of the rites. These ritual carvings have already been mentioned in the descriptions of the initiation rites, of the economic structure, and of the mortuary rites. It remains to present as a whole the essential information about them.

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MALANGGANS

Malanggans are made for the dead—men, women, and children—by the surviving members of their clan. Sometimes, as at Maling's funeral, the *malanggan* is made at the time of death, but this is unusual, and happens only for an old and important person. More often it is made a year or more later, when the necessary wealth has been collected and other preparations have been made, and frequently it will be made for several clan relatives at once. Sometimes the circumcision of the young boys is the occasion for making one. Another time the village will decide to have *malanggan* rites, although there is no overt excuse, and everyone in the village who wishes to make one will do so at the same time. The rites for the combined *malanggans* last for three or four days, with the appropriate dances and feasts. I saw one such set of rites at the village of Lovapaul. After the rites the *malanggans* are usually destroyed.

There are many different kinds of *malanggans*, each one with its particular name, form, and attendant rites. First the *malanggans* are divided into a number of large groups, such as the *Sasabwan*, *Kolebmur*, *Ahsisinga*, *Walik*, *Longabun*, *Amuraskambo*, *Warawara*,[1] and all those in each one of these groups are considered of the same type, and have similar rites. The names of some of the individual *malanggans* within these large groups are:

[1] This is only a partial list of the *malanggan* groups.

Sasqbwan

Aruppekleia: Fish.
Eiaiderauf: Fish.
Anuf: Fish.
Solennau: Figure of man.
Lysisi: Figure of man.
Mundäleno: Figure of man.
Leirau: Figure of woman.
Däwgandau: Figure of woman.
Kortämuth: Figure of woman.
Aluderi: Figure of man.
Anbowugul: Figure of man.
Winabo: Figure of woman.
Kummermeia.
Araraum.
Logarawai.

Kolebmur

Araraun: This also appears in class above.
Lekiu.
Kuwawuwu.
Balanei.
Kuleipanga.
Ambeli.
Ammaris.
Amarindan.
Avutimisi.
Agasmuggawuh.

Ahsisinga

Awainu: Small eagle.
Kambärwurua.
Aganlä.
Kaupus.
Rangină.
Leiamä.
Sinbanimous.
Ahmersilau.
Kambarizo.
Amutnät.

Amuraskambo

Lahwinamuhdä.
Belazäm.
Milimindäs.
Abiläk.
Lawaiangas.
Anbutsio.
Amundacssuraumbo.
Amatangilagila.
Amandto.

Warawara

Karawas.
Azela.
Auwafan.
Abauurang.
Avara.
Aflinkabik.
Ahmitnas.
Wawarapesinganau.
Sesoli.
Luhkundo.
Sauwood.
Sulangit.
Gawit.

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The *malanggans* vary in appearance; some are the figure of one man, while others are intricate carvings containing the figures of several people, each one representing a dead clan relative. Still others have various birds, fish, and snakes on them. The animals used seem to be merely familiar ones of the environment, and without any totemic significance. Another kind, such as the *Warawara*, is finely decorative, with the *kepkep* (breast ornament) in the centre. Each *malanggan* will also be known as a male or female one. They are usually brightly painted, red and yellow being the dominant colours. A photograph facing page 120 shows one of them.

The right to make each *malanggan* is owned by an individual, usually an important old man of a clan. The other members of his clan are considered as part-owners with him, and would be reimbursed at a sale of one. The old man is more a custodian. He may sell this privilege to another person, and the individual making the sale loses the right to make this particular *malanggan*, and he must therefore later buy the right to make another one. The description of one such sale has already been described.[1] It was a big economic transaction, and one of the main ways in which large amounts of currency pass from one group to another.

The *malanggan* is made by a skilled carver, who is paid for his services. The clan owner sits beside him and shows him the design. The work is always done in a small house erected for the purpose, and only the male clan owners of the *malanggan* besides the carver are allowed to enter it. The house is destroyed after the work is finished.

Myths about the origin of different *malanggans* give the source as a dream. For instance, in the myth of the origin of the *Walik malanggan*, a man named Lunguma, who lived in Tabar, fell asleep while he was working in his garden. While asleep his *gas* appeared in a dream and showed him

[1] See pp. 210–224.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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how to make the *Walik malanggan* and all the dances and other aspects of the rites connected with it. Just before he died Lunguma passed on this information to a clan relative, and so it has come down to the present time. This is a rather typical dream origin for most of the *malanggans*, except that for a few of them a woman has the dream. In that case she passes on the knowledge immediately to her son. The setting in most of these myths is in Tabar.[1]

Accompanying each *malanggan* are special rites, including dances, feasts, and other ritual, which have been described in their particular context. Many of the dances are interchangeable for different *malanggans*, but certain aspects of the rites, as, for example, the women walking to neighbouring villages and collecting food on the way in the concluding rites for the *Walik malanggan* (displayed at the initiation rites), and the particular way in which the women group themselves for their feast at the *Sasabwan malanggan* rites (at Logagon), are peculiar to these particular *malanggans*. But regardless of the differences in appearance and in details of rites, they all have the same general function. While they are made in honour of the dead, their making bestows prestige on the living. Should a Lesu man not make a *malanggan* for a dead mother or maternal uncle, he would fall very low in prestige, but there would be no effect on the dead person or his ghost. For, to the Melanesian native, the *malanggan* represents wealth, and not to have this for the proper ritual uses is indeed a serious matter. The identification of the carvings with wealth came out in many ways: if a man did not make a *malanggan*, it was scornfully said by everyone in the community that he did not have any wealth; in the speeches at the *malanggan* rites, stressing the wealth which had gone into their making; in an incident

[1] It seems likely that the *malanggans* came originally from the Tabar group of islands, and an investigation there might disclose more facts about their real nature.

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which occurred shortly before my departure, when some old men were watching my servants pack a few *malanggans* I was taking back with me. I had explained that they would be carefully housed (in a museum), and that "my people," who had never seen these *malanggans*, would then know about them. After my explanation the old men very seriously urged me to tell these people who would look at the *malanggans* that they were not just carved, painted pieces of wood, but that I must make the people understand all the work and wealth that had gone into the mal ng of them—the large taro crops, the many pigs, all th *tsera*, the cooking for the feast, and other essentials of the rites. These, said the old men of Lesu, are the important things to remember about *malanggans*.

SUMMARY

The Lesu man has certain fundamental and universal problems to meet, and his knowledge, magic, and religion indicate how he meets them. The knowledge concerning natural phenomena and crafts, the dependence on magic to fill in the gaps of knowledge, the myths to account for origins, the beliefs in the supernatural to give him security, indicate that his mental processes are very similar to our own. Our knowledge is more complete, but that is just a matter of degree. We have recourse to prayer, psychologically kin to magic, when we need confidence. We too have our origin myths, embedded in such institutions as the Church. Likewise we have our religious beliefs, which fulfil the same function for us as they do for the Lesu natives. It would seem then that the dynamics of thinking is the same for these Melanesians as it is for us, and that the difference is only in the content.

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Now she puts the stones in an empty coconut shell and says:

Nämbeseiin la la la la la la la
Nämbeseiin la la la la la la la

(repeated several times).

Tide catch them (stones) go go go go go go go.
(Freely, the sea and tide will carry you out.)

Murri, the name used in the beginning of the spell, is the name of a man of the Palila clan. It is thought that the *tsinanis* or spirit of this clan is inside of the sick woman and causing her illness. The evidence of this is her swollen eyes. The *tsinanis* of her own clan would not be inside of her, for the latter is friendly and would not harm her. But the *tsinanis* of another clan may be an enemy to her. (The Palila clan and the clan of the sick woman, Sinpop, are both of the same moiety.) The spell is designed to drive out the *tsinanis* from the ill woman.

MAGICAL STONE TO PROTECT HOUSE

One man has in his house a large heavy stone called *bäk*, which is also the word for taro. The stone is carefully hidden in a basket hanging on the wall. If a new house is made, the stone completely covered up is removed to the new house, and its removal is the occasion for a feast. The man who now has the stone inherited it from his father, who in turn received it from his father, and so on, always coming down in the paternal line. The original owner has given the stone the ability to attract food to the house and to thus keep away famine and want.

Another man has a similar stone in his house, which besides this function has also the power to cause anyone who steals food from the house to die. The thief's hair

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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would fall out, his skin waste away, and soon nothing would be left but his bones. The magic connected with this stone is rather like black magic in its function.[1]

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[1] I was unable to get the magical spells connected with the stones. The owners did not know the spell, and as far as I could ascertain no one else did.

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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765 act of dancing and the symbol, or what the dancing represents.
535 While dance rehearsals are taboo in the period immediately preceding death and in the period following death, dancing is part of the burial rites, participated in by the whole community, and represents an outward expression of their feelings aroused by the death. But the dance rehearsals have no connection with death (they may be rehearsals for circumcision, marriage, or some other rite) and as such have no psychological association with the recent event and would mar the continuum of expressed community feeling after a burial.

769 The years following the death are marked by the making of a
532 *malaŋgon* and the giving of many feasts. The *malaŋgon* is an
778 elaborate carving which varies in size and design. The carvings are divided into a number of large classifications, each of which is subdivided into smaller groups, and each division large and small has its own name. On a large number of them there is a figure for each dead relative for whom the *malaŋgon* is made, and sharks, birds, and fish are frequent in the design. There are also other [424] carvings on which no figure of the dead relative occurs. The right to make a *malaŋgon* is owned by a clan, which can sell the right to another clan. The original owner then loses the right to make it and must buy the right to make a different *malaŋgon* from another clan. When the *malaŋgon* is made and displayed, there are elaborate rites continuing for months and including dancing, feasts and special rites, which vary according to each particular *malaŋgon*.

769 The *malaŋgon* is usually made by a maternal nephew or by a
532 son, if the dead person is a woman.[11] Occasionally other close clan
554 relatives may make one too. The time for the *malaŋgon* rites may
778 be a year after death, or it may be five years after death. The time depends on how long it takes to collect the wealth necessary for holding the rites. Frequently one carving will be made for several dead relatives at one time. As far as the writer was able to ascertain, the making of the *malaŋgon* and the rites concerning it

[11]The clan relative does not actually make the *malaŋgon* but pays a skilled carver to make it according to his directions.

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland QM10
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have no effect on the *tinualo* (ghost), the *gas* (double), or anything connected with the dead person. The rites, while nominally carried out in honour of the dead person, seem to have as their real function to increase the prestige of the survivor. Over and over again I was told that if the *malaŋgon* was not made, the clan relative who should have made it would fall in prestige, that he would be the object of much gossip, and that everyone would say that he did not have sufficient wealth to make one. Nothing more hurtful to a native's prestige than this could be said.[12]

Besides the *malaŋgon* feasts there are many other feasts given after death over an indefinite period of years. They are made usually by one of the relatives of the extended family who observed the sleeping or sexual taboos immediately after death. The maternal nephew and the son, if the dead person is a woman, are the most frequent givers of these feasts. Many other feasts, which have an obvious purpose not connected with death, are held in the cemetery and are considered in some way not very clear to me to be for all the dead buried in that cemetery. A feast given on the occasion of a child having its first tooth, or one held simply because there is plenty of food, will be held in the cemetery and is considered in some subtle manner to be held for the dead buried there as well as for the explicit reason given.

To summarize the description of the rites, it has been shown that the chief mourners are the parents, children, and the consort. Next come the other clan relatives and after them the rest of the community. The direction of the rites and economic responsibility for them is in the hands of a close clan relative, the spouse taking no active part at all. Those observing the food taboos are the same close clan relatives and also the spouse. The sexual taboo involves a larger group, the whole extended family. Intimate duties connected with the corpse, such as washing and carrying it to the cemetery, are performed by people of the opposite moiety, who are not kindred to the dead person, and therefore not chief mourners.

[12]The subject of the *malaŋgon* is a complicated one and a monograph might be written on this alone. The writer will present material in another context.

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

601 **Rok.—Brother; sister (woman speaking).**
Matok.—Brother's wife; husband's brother.
Sagok.—Sister; brother (woman speaking).
Ramisik.—Wife's brother; sister's husband.
Suk or *Oitanu.*—Wife.
Suk.—Husband.
Enak.—Husband's mother; son's wife (woman speaking).
Egik.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.

582 In this pedigree one man is married to two sisters who are both living. The cross-cousin marriage is said to be definitely barred. A man is permitted to marry his mother's brother's widow, his brother's widow, his wife's sister, or the daughter of his mother's brother's daughter. In this village there are several instances of marriage between people of the same clan.

586 587 In almost every village on the East coast of New Ireland there are numerous men and women who have been divorced and re-married several times. The priests of the Roman Catholic Mission hold that the facility with which these divorces and re-marriages take place reacts on the issue rate of the community.

614 162 The clan distribution of the population between Kavieng and Karu is shown in the following tables of adults and children of both sexes. (Appendix 2.)

614 As I have already stated, each clan is divided into sub-groupings associated in some way with the ghosts of the dead. Every person, therefore, has his clan *evit-bung* or *pambang* (north of Fatmilak), *butamit* (south of Fatmilak), his totem, *mani*, and his sub-division, *masolei*, *masele* (north of Fatmilak), *morali* or *misili* (south of Fatmilak). The sub-divisions bear the names of pieces of land, caves, capes, mountains, rocks, prominent points on the sea-shore, reefs, rivers, waterfalls, or other natural phenomena, characteristic of the spot from which the sub-division is said to have originated, and in addition they bear the names of and are associated with mythical pigs, snakes, sharks, or other animals connected with the site that bears the group name. A large number of the *masolei* sites consist of fertile land, which is planted from time to time by the members of the *masolei* sub-division or by people of other sub-divisions permitted to do so. Quite a number of the sub-division locations, however, are barren, and without value. Such places are regarded simply as sacred spots to which the members of the sub-divisions associated with them have rights against others.

[778]

Between Kavieng and Fatmilak there are many villages in which the clans have merely one or two sub-divisions apparently of little importance. In Kavieng itself I found the same sub-divisional name occurring in more than one clan. In places like Lakuramau and

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784 AVOIDANCE AND TABOO--practices reflecting impulses to escape from fear or anxiety; techniques for avoiding malevolent spirits (e.g., flight, disguise, deception, disparagement); concept of taboo; imposition and removal of taboos; prevalent types of taboos (e.g., food taboos, property taboos, status taboos, word and name taboos, totemic taboos, sex taboos, reproductive taboos, therapeutic taboos, mortuary taboos); systematization of taboos; general discussion of taboos; list of taboos; specific taboos not classifiable elsewhere; supernatural punishments for violations of taboos and other offenses; etc. Since taboos commonly represent the negative aspects of cultural norms, information on taboos may be found under many categories, only a few of which are indicated in the cross-references below.

Totemic taboos 61, 89
Mortuary taboos 76
Sex taboos 83
Reproductive taboos 84
Cultural norms 183
Euphemisms 196
Food taboos 262
Rest days 527
Name taboos 551
Avoidance relationships 602
Taboos surrounding a chief or king . 63, 622, 643
Legal norms 671
Definition of acts regarded as sins 673
Social sanctions for violations of taboos . . . 688

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Lesu

and sisters, between whom a semi-taboo relationship begins at puberty. But although there is no demonstration of affection between them, in childhood real brothers and sisters play together.

The real force of taboo relationships does not make itself felt until after puberty. The most important of these, as has been indicated, are the cross-cousin relationships, that is, between a girl and her mother's brother's son and her father's sister's son. At the same time that the child learns the personal names of other relatives, he learns that personal names in this cross-cousin relationship must never be spoken, and that the term *koko* (the diminutive of *korup*) is used instead. He sees the avoidance between the adults who stand in this relationship, and he, too, avoids his *koko*, although perhaps not quite so actively as do the adults. Thus a child sees his father leave the compound when the maternal grandmother comes to visit them. Since the children spend most of their time on the outskirts of the adult world, they have full opportunity to observe patterns of behaviour between taboo and other relatives, as well as to learn how to scrape taro and handle the fishing-net.

Education here is for the most part a subtle process. From infancy, children are bystanders in the adult world. Wherever the adults are gathered, there also are the children, watching them as they perform their tasks, assisting in them within their strength, and listening to the conversations, on which there are no bars because of the presence of children. Obscene stories, scandal, gossip of all kinds, are repeated openly before children of all ages. There is one exception, and this is not a matter of age but of kinship; a mother does not discuss her sexual life before her daughter, whether that daughter be a tot of five or a middle-aged woman. She will talk about her sexual life before other women, and she will discuss another woman's sexual life before her daughter, but not her own *affaires du cœur*. She gives as her reason that she is

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881 778 537 Sola, should die, then a younger man will talk as I do. Suppose someone should ask who taught him. He will answer that Sola has taught him. I have finished speaking." Each of the eight boys being circumcised walks over in turn to where Sola sits and puts some tobacco and *tsera* at his feet.

Then Lowni, owner of the *Kolebmur malanggan* being displayed, and who has sold it to Orlok, stands up and repeats in regard to his *malanggan* what Sola has just said. The eight boys now put tobacco and *tsera* at Lowni's feet.

Towni, owner of another *Walik malanggan*, being displayed, talks: "Before, when I was a little boy, I worked on a plantation and I did not know this *malanggan*. Then I learned about it from my *Tata* (maternal uncle). Now I have made it and give it to Pungoli, my *tsiringi* (maternal nephew)." The latter is one of the eight boys, and now gives *tsera* and tobacco to Towni.

Then the men contributing the pigs make the payments for them publicly, holding the *tsera* up in full view and announcing to whom and for what are they paying it, and then Sola makes a speech over the two pigs resting on top of the *malanggans*. He says: "All of you look at these two pigs. They have been sleeping on this bed on top of the *malanggans*, and therefore they are taboo. We will eat them here in the enclosure and finish eating them here. These other two pigs on the ground, we will eat half here and the remaining half will be taken out to the women. But these two pigs which have been on top of the *malanggan*, they must not be taken out to the women. I have finished talking."

● [184] The *malanggans* are taboo to the women, who may not look at them. The pigs, evidently from their proximity to the *malanggans*, have also become taboo to the women.

881 778 264 Towni stands on top of the two taboo pigs and cuts them up. Two men act as waiters and distribute plates of leaves to all those present. The same ten men now advance as a unit, pick up taro, stand in front of the plates with it, and

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net is held taut on a stick stuck into the ground, the other is fastened on a small twig, which is used as a needle. If a man who does not know how to weave a net wants one, he will collect the vine from the bush and take it to any of the weaving experts, who makes it for one *tsera*. There are eight men in the village who are experts in weaving.

CARVING, WORK IN TORTOISE-SHELL, ETC.

The only carved objects are *malanggans* and masks, which are made by specialists who are paid for their work. In the village of Lesu there is just one man who is skilled in this work, and in several other villages there is only one carver. When a *malanggan* is to be made, the man who owns it instructs the carver how it is to be made, and will spend much time with him while the wood is being carved. The work to-day is done with knives purchased at trade stores. In the past sharp stones were used, and the natives say that the carving is better since it has been done with knives. It is taboo for anyone except the man who owns the *malanggan* to watch the carver at work. The latter enjoys no special prestige because of his skill. In Lesu the carver, Kanua, is a nonentity in village life aside from the work of carving. In Medina, on the other hand, the carver, who is an old man, enjoys much prestige, but he is a man of real knowledge of *malanggans* and folk-tales and an important man in his clan.

Tortoise-shell work is also confined to a few, and is done with a knife, where formerly it was done with a stone. The only objects made are the decoration for the *kepkep* and the *polok* for scooping out coconut. The latter are not made very frequently now.

The building of canoes is almost a lost art on this part of the island. No new ones were made while I was there, and the few in existence were small dugout canoes with an outrigger, but with no carving. They were more like children's canoes. The road which runs south from Kavieng a hundred